

MAY 30 1965

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Between the Lines

Achieving a 'Consensus'—A Case History

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Johnson-Type Government Is Big Staff Operation

By EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Washington — "Consensus," the word devised for a one-voice government and one-voice public, does not happen overnight. It requires a staff operation.

Our carefully-constructed propaganda climate is especially effective in the field of foreign policy. This is an area where "consensus" can be easily manipulated since government or government-allied "think factories" are the predominant source of research.

As a case history, let us take the issue of East-West trade. The smooth operation to mold public opinion in favor of an increased flow of trade and technology to the Soviet bloc was secretly started ten years ago by the same people now openly pulling the strings. The process worked this way:

The State Department "ordered" the Central Intelligence Agency to prepare a basic policy analysis and recommendation, known as an "Estimate," on the innocent subject of trends in the Soviet Union, to determine whether it was evolving into a peaceful society. However, the slanted instructions given by the State Department to the CIA in its directive, known as a "schedule," essentially determined in advance the conclusion that emerged.

'Farms Out' Job

The CIA farmed out a contract for a "pre-policy paper," to one of its front groups, the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Assigned to the job at MIT were Dr. Max F. Millikan, professor of economics, and Walt Whitman Rostow, professor of economic history. The choice of personnel also reflected the standard technique of using research



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support conclusions decided upon in advance. Significant during 1947-49, Rostow had held the post of assistant executive secretary to Gunnar Myrdal, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. (Myrdal, the Socialist Swedish economist, severely injured his country's economy by engineering its disastrous pro-Communist trade agreement with the Soviets after World War II.)

Not unexpectedly, the Millikan-Rostow report of May 10, 1956, entitled "Proposal for a New Foreign Economic Policy," suggested that East-West trade be used "to exert political pull on elements within the Communist bloc." According to the New York Times of May 29, 1956, this supposedly "privately prepared" Millikan-Rostow report "reached the National Security Council," topmost U. S. policy-making agency. Actually, it was a government operation all along.

Formal Policy Paper

The next step came when the National Security Council obediently echoed the same theme in a formal policy paper urging cooperation between the Communist and non-Communist world in areas of "overlapping interest." This was in the widely-publicized "Rostow Memorandum" revealed in the press in mid-1962. The memorandum by Rostow, now transferred to the State Department where he became chairman of its Policy Planning Board, was based on the theory, totally unsupported by the words and deeds of Soviet leaders, that the USSR was evolving into "a mature, peaceful state."

The final step in the policy process was for the CIA's National Board of Estimates, headed by Sherman Kent, to incorporate the Rostow Memorandum into a National Intelligence Estimate. The estimate set government policy

on an agency-wide basis. It directly led to such operations as our large-scale sale of wheat to Soviet Russia and shipment of chemical processing equipment and engineering know-how to the Red bloc.

'Bill of Goods'

What we are witnessing today is a government-devised "educational" campaign which Rostow admitted in his memorandum was needed "to sell Congress" and the public the proposals already given official sanction. This also is a State Department operation under the overall direction of Tracy Barnes, who heads the CIA's domestic covert arm from the Matome Building at 17th and H Streets, N. W., Washington.

In this staff operation, "consensus" is achieved through a network of law firms such as Sullivan & Cromwell; advisors in "private" life such as George Kennan, of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and Robert Bowie, director of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University; certain writers with links on magazines such as Life and Newsweek, and authors secretly subsidized by the government who visit the Soviet Union and then return home to write books tailored to the theme that the Communist regime is supposedly becoming "more capitalistic" and "evolving."

Study for Congress

In the Congress, the groundwork for "consensus" was laid as far back as March 30, 1960, when Millikan and Rostow participated in the preparation of a study for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee entitled "United States Foreign Policy" (No. 12).

This study, which not unexpectedly was assigned to the government's Center for International Studies at MIT, was

a virtual rewrite of the 1956 Rostow-Millikan report, which in turn drew heavily from Gunnar Myrdal's books promoting an international Socialist economy.

According to this Senate study, no less a person than Dean Rusk, then president of the Rockefeller Foundation and now Secretary of State, helped to develop the "advantageous approach" involved in this policy research "to educate" Congressmen.

Businessmen constitute another key target for the State Department's psychological warfare operations since it is they who must be persuaded to transfer American industrial and technological know-how to Communist countries.

Report Published

On April 29, 1965, the White House published a "Report to the President of the Special Committee on U. S. Trade Relations with the East European Countries in the Soviet Union." Members of this supposedly independent objective committee of business leaders included Crawford H. Greenewalt, chairman of the Board, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co., and chairman, Radio Free Europe Fund, an organization whose links with the CIA are well-known.

Our old friend from the MIT-CIA complex also turns up on the 12-man committee—none other than Dr. Max F. Millikan.

Thus, it is not surprising that the "consensus" in the report is that "we could use trade negotiations to open up new avenues of peaceful engagement with Communist countries and create new opportunities to influence their development."

What so many businessmen and Americans generally do not realize, of course, is that the drive to promote aid and trade with Communist countries is based on "doctored" intelligence estimates.